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ABSTRACT

This study examined different shades of meaning that a single word may have in Chinese in an effort to better understand the relationship between language and culture. An understanding of the exact meaning of Chinese words and expressions can greatly assist non-Chinese in understanding both the language and the society as a whole. A total of 102 students from National Chengchi University and National Taiwan Normal University in Taipei participated in the study. The students were given short vignettes to read which contained the Chinese morpheme "dai," which can mean "to watch," "to wait," or "to be ready." They were then asked to identify if the action portrayed in the vignette really reflects the meaning of the word. Results indicated that students identified dai most strongly in vignettes that combined all three meanings or the latter two meanings. The vignette which illustrated only the meaning "to wait" was identified as least representative of "dai." The results suggest that the word "dai" is not equivalent to the English word "wait," and is in fact much more active, emphasizing watching and readiness. Four appendixes provide copies of the questions and answer sheets in both Chinese and English. Contains 51 references. (MDM)

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Teaching Chinese Negotiating Style through Examination of Key Chinese Categories:

by Dan Myers

Although Chinese has not yet become a commonly taught language in the United States, places in which Chinese is spoken have already become too important economically to ignore.[1] Consider, for example, that the United States' second and third largest trade deficits have recently been ascribed to China and Taiwan (Goldstein 1991:35, Awanohara 1991:10). In particular, the growth in China's trade surplus with the United States has been spectacular, from $3.4 billion[2] in 1987 (Goldstein 1992) to an estimated $18

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billion in 1992 (Awanohara, Burton, and Clifford 1993:46). Savings rates[3] in China, Hongkong, and Taiwan are all more than twice as high as in the United States. In Singapore, the savings rate is nearly three times as high (Holloway 1992). Singapore, moreover, has official foreign reserves that are, on a per-capita basis, fifteen times as high as Japan's (Balakrishnan 1990). Foreign currency assets in The Hongkong Government's Exchange Fund at the end of 1991 was, on a per capita basis, the second highest in the world (Clifford 1992). Taiwan's foreign exchange reserves have been estimated to be more than $100 billion, which, by that standard at least, makes it the richest country in the world (Baum 1992a). These growing trade surpluses, high savings rates, and vast foreign exchange reserves indicate that we can no longer afford to overlook areas in which Chinese is spoken.

Students who recognize the importance of these areas need to learn both language and culture. Acquiring a second language involves learning a new way of looking at the world, not putting together the illusions of equivalent words with different grammatical rules (Becker 1984, Kadar-Fulop 1988:36).

The distinctiveness of the Chinese language has been seen as a barrier (Broadbent 1974:73). However, if we are open to the ways in which various concepts are lexicalized differently in Chinese, experience with the language can enhance our appreciation of the culture and our ability to function effectively in it.

It is on the basis of the idea that "Language is the vehicle of culture" (Chang 1979:236) that I want to approach one of the most serious frustrations Westerners have encountered in doing business with China: use of time in negotiations. Although some executives have expected doing business in China to be a "pushover" or "a piece of cake" (Mann 1989:48,169), negotiations in fact generally seem to take longer in China than they do other places (Lubman 1983:59). Initially, the Chinese tend to want a general agreement on basic principles. Negotiations at this stage are used to assess their counterparts' weaknesses. One focus here is on whether the foreigners can be patient. For their part, American chief executive officers tend to reach these general agreements without the benefit of preliminary work by their subordinates, who are then left to thrash out the vital details amid charges from

the Chinese that they are not honoring the spirit of the general agreement. In this way Western business leaders have overlooked crucial issues such as foreign exchange while at the same time playing into the hands of the Chinese by showing their own cards first (Pye 1982:ix-x, Mann 1989:96,98,195). As foreign companies continue to discover, signing a contract in China generally marks the beginning of serious negotiations, not the end of them (Sender 1993).

The Chinese ability to wait--not passively, but persistently and perceptively--has proven to be a great asset in their negotiations. At first, there is the strong tendency to avoid an immediate stance (Young 1982:83). The maneuver of asking about a counterpart's intentions without giving away any secrets of one's own is reflected in the expression tou shi wen lu 'ask the way by throwing a stone' (Chien 1986:245). Putting off dealing with requests is often done with expressions such as 'we'll consider it' (kaolu) and 'we'll study it'(yanjiu) (Murray 1983:21). It has been suggested that a Chinese official saying he or she will study a matter actually means that the question will be put off until it either solves itself or is just forgotten

(Salzman 1986:41). The strategy of solving problems by stalling is reflected in the expression da shi hua xiao, xiao shi hua liao 'turn big problems into small problems and small problems into no problem at all (Chien 1986:256). Feigned ignorance can produce other opportunities to watch counterparts wear themselves out (Mann 1989:78). This strategy is reflected in a Chinese expression which means 'pretend to be deaf and dumb with a shrewd mind and a naive face' (zhuang long zuo ya, xin jing mian han) (Chien 1986:251). While these waiting strategies are not exclusively Chinese, frustration regarding use of time has been cited as one of the biggest challenges that Americans in particular experience doing business in China (Murray 1983:22-3).

Like other foreigners living and working in China, I experienced continual challenges to my ability to be patient. While some of the delays were, of course, not intentional, many of them definitely appeared to function as deliberate maneuvers in negotiation. Later, as I reflected on these challenges, it occurred to me that the active, purposeful, and persistent kind of patience I was encountering was summed up in the expression dai shi er dong 'wait for the right moment

and then act'. The primary verb in this expression seemed to be unlike any verb I knew in English. I felt that dai was much more mentally active than the English word wait. Dai, it seemed to me, was a distinctive Chinese word that helped explain what was going on in the culture.

Many writers have studied key terms in order to illuminate the culture in which they are used (see, for example, Munro 1977:23-4, Huang and Warren 1981, Huang 1982, Geertz 1983:156-7. Williams 1983, and Wierzbicka 1991). These key terms have been studied with a variety of methods, including contextual analysis (Munro 1977:23-4) and investigation of historical meanings (Huang 1982). However, it is also possible to study key terms by using methodology developed in prototype semantics.

Distinctive words in one language differ from similar words in other languages on the basis of patterns of polysemy (Wierzbicka 1991:338). A polyseme is a lexical item with different yet related meanings (Johnson 1987:107; Lakoff 1987:416; Small, Cottrell, and Tanenhaus 1988:4; Taylor 1989:103). Native English speakers might readily imagine, for instance, that a

word in their first language might share some meanings with a Chinese polyseme, but that Chinese polyseme might also express other meanings which keep it from being an equivalent to the English word (Light 1987:110-11). For example, Williams (1983:243) has pointed out that the English word private now has predominantly positive senses and reflects a "lack of accountability to 'them.'" In Chinese, on the other hand, a morpheme which can mean 'private', si, actually has strongly negative meanings, including 'selfish' and 'illegal', the combination[4] of which seems to reflect Chinese society's emphasis on groupism (Myers forthcoming). Polysemy is seen to be a kind of categorization and is significant because it "involves cognitive organization in a lexicon" (Lakoff 1987:12,57,334). How can we test the semantic structure of what seems to be such a key word?

Methodology of prototype semantics can provide information about whether a lexical item is a polyseme, and if it is, the relative strength of its various meanings, and how those meanings combine. This methodology (Coleman and Kay 1981, Huang 1987) was used as a test of prototype theory, which has become one of

the bases of cognitive linguistics (Geeraerts 1989:591), and it can now be used for ethnolinguistic purposes. It involves using a questionnaire, each item of which represents one meaning or a combination of meanings of the word in question. Subjects are asked to rank each item on the questionnaire as to how good an example it is. In this case, we are interested in discovering the semantic structure of the Chinese morpheme dai. The meaning of dai has been analyzed into the elements of 'to wait', 'to watch', and 'to be ready' (Chien 1986:246). Consequently, there is one item on the questionnaire to represent[5] each of these three elements. Also, there are three items on the questionnaire, each of which represent a combination of two of those semantic elements. In addition, there is a seventh item representing all three semantic elements and an eighth item which acts as a control and is intended to have no relation to any of the three semantic elements. The arrangement of the items on the questionnaire can be seen in Table One.

Altogether, 102 students from National Chengchi University and National Taiwan Normal University in Taipei[6] participated in the experiment. Each person

STORY NUMBER	SEMANTIC ELEMENTS			MEAN SCORES
	Wait	Watch	Ready	
5	+	+	+	2.32
1	+	-	+	2.33
4	-	+	-	4.41
2	+	+	-	4.45
3	+	-	-	4.72
6	-	+	+	5.41
7	-	-	+	5.58
8	-	-	-	6.15

Table 1

Mean scores from dai questionnaire.

was given an answer sheet. A copy of the answer sheet as originally written in Chinese can be found in Appendix A. An English version of the answer sheet is in Appendix B. The subjects were asked, for each item on the questionnaire, if they considered that item to be an example of dai. A score of one, two, or three meant "yes," with a score of one indicating most certainty. A score of five, six, or seven meant "no," with seven correspondingly indicating most assurance. A score of four meant that the subject could not say one way or the other.

Three items on the questionnaire each represent single semantic elements of dai. (A copy of the original Chinese questionnaire can be found in Appendix C, and an English translation is in Appendix D.) Item three, for example, is an illustration of 'to wait' without 'to watch' and 'to be ready'. In item three, two amateur photographers are portrayed standing on a beach for three hours. When the perfect moment comes for taking a picture of the sunrise, they are busy chatting, and the aperture on their camera is not set correctly. Another story illustrating a single semantic element ('to watch' without 'to wait' or 'to

be ready') is item four, in which fishermen discover an oil slick approaching their fishing grounds, and, although they have no equipment to remove the pollution, they quickly go out to have a look so they can try to figure out what to do. In item seven (which represents the semantic element 'to be ready' without 'to wait' or 'to watch'), an impatient businessman is pictured as both uninterested in chatting with his counterpart and unconcerned about how crafty he might be, but wants only to conclude his deal quickly.

There are three items on the questionnaire which each represent two semantic elements without the third. For instance, item one on the questionnaire is a dramatization of the semantic elements 'to wait' and 'to be ready', without 'to watch'. It describes a patient worker who wants someday to be promoted to a responsible position. He never pays attention to office politics, but after a few years has the qualifications to become manager and is appointed manager. Item two is a portrayal of the semantic elements 'to wait' and 'to watch', without 'to be ready'. In this item, a man is seen paying attention to rising flood waters for several days, but still

remains at home. Even as the water enters his home, he still does not know what is best for him to do. Item six illustrates 'to watch' and 'to be ready', but not 'to wait'. It portrays a doctor who, on his way home, sees a car accident. He immediately runs over to examine the injured person, and when he discovers that the victim has stopped breathing, the doctor immediately administers CPR.

All three semantic elements are incorporated into item five. This story describes an army occupying the high ground. Scouting reports indicate that it is unnecessary for them to take any action because as soon as the enemy runs out of food and ammunition, victory can be obtained easily.

Item eight acts as a control. Here we find a young driver without a license who, because he is preoccupied with a quarrel he has had with his girlfriend, does not notice the traffic light turning red and children beginning to cross the road. He is unable to stop his car in time. None of the semantic elements of <u>dai</u> is illustrated in this item.

The responses from the subjects, as can be seen in the mean scores on Table One, indicate that the item

judged to be the best illustration of dai was item five. Because item five represents a combination of the three semantic elements of dai, it appears that they are related and constitute a polyseme. Item one, which represents a combination of 'to wait' and 'to be ready' also received a "yes" score. These mean score results indicate that dai truly is a very active form of waiting.

A one-way analysis of variance was performed to see if there was significant difference between the mean scores overall. The details of this test can be found in Table Two. Significant difference (p=.0001) was found to exist.

To ascertain the significance of difference between particular mean scores, Tukey's test was performed. The results, which may be seen in Table Three, indicate that the differences betweeen the mean score of the story chosen to be the best example of dai (the one combining the three elements 'to wait', 'to watch', and 'to be ready') and the mean scores of all of the other stories except one were significant. The mean score of the story chosen to be the second best example of dai (item one, which combined 'to wait' and

SOURCE OF VARIANCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F
BETWEEN STORIES	1442.90	7	206.13	61.01
WITHIN STORIES	2730.08	808	3.38	
TOTAL VARIANCE	4172.98	815	209.51	

TABLE 2. One-way ANOVA on dai results.

STORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1		*	*	*		*	*	*
2	*				*	*	*	*
3	*				*		*	*
4	*				*	*	*	*
5		*	*	*		*	*	*
6	*	*		*	*			
7	*	*	*	*	*			
8	*	*	*	*	*			
MEAN	2.33	4.45	4.71	4.41	2.32	5.41	5.58	6.15
VAR	2.09	4.19	4.15	5.35	2.91	3.79	2.80	1.75

TABLE 3. Tukey's test for dai.

Comparisons significant at 0.05 are indicated by '*'.

'to be ready') was significantly different from the mean scores of all the remaining stories. The results of Tukey's test thus confirm the active nature of stereotypically dai behavior.

The relative strengths of the semantic elements and the ways in which they combine are revealed by means of a three-way analysis of variance. As can be seen on Table Four, the strongest element is 'to wait' and the second strongest is 'to be ready'. The three-way ANOVA indicates that there is interaction between 'to wait' and 'to watch' ($p=0.0016$), between 'to wait' and 'to be ready' ($p=0.0001$), between 'to watch' and 'to be ready' ($p=0.0004$), and among all three semantic elements ($p=0.0109$). Because interaction here refers to the combined effect of the variables (Edwards 1966:347-9, Butler 1985:135, Koosis 1985:243), it is clear that the three meanings of dai are related and form a polyseme. A diagram illustrating the relative strengths of the semantic elements and the ways in which they overlap can be seen in Figure One.

It is apparent that dai is not equivalent to the English word wait. Indeed, the item on the questionnaire illustrating only the meaning 'to wait'

SOURCE OF VARIANCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREE OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE	F
Wait	760.96	1	760.96	225.22
Watch	60.40	1	60.40	17.88
Ready	212.08	1	212.08	62.77
Wait*Watch	33.77	1	33.77	9.99
Wait*Ready	311.29	1	311.29	92.13
Watch*Ready	42.40	1	42.40	12.55
W*W*R	22.00	1	22.00	6.51
BETWEEN STORIES	1442.90			

Table 4. 3-way ANOVA on dai results.
Level of significance is 0.05.

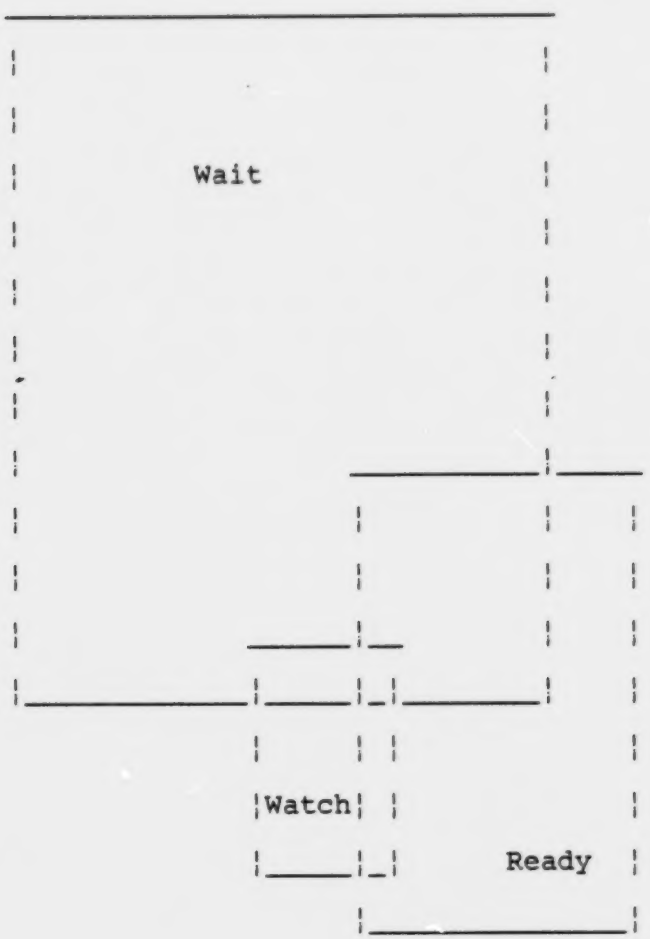

Figure 1.

Semantic structure of dai.

received a mean score which indicated that it was not considered to be a kind of dai at all. Dai seems quite different from the dawdling and dillydallying that are associated with the English word wait (Mawson and Whiting 1951:36, Merriam 1978:528,616). The results of this experiment indicate that 'to wait' must typically be combined with 'to be ready' or with 'to be ready' and 'to watch' in order to be recognized as a kind of dai. This distinctly Chinese word appears to be an example of what Geertz (1983:157) calls "key terms that seem, when their meaning is unpacked, to light up a whole way of going at the world."

As an expression of a strategy, is dai a one-of-a-kind unit in the Chinese lexicon? Johnson (1987:xi-xii) has observed that "most human concepts are defined and understood only within conceptual frameworks that depend on the nature of human experience in given cultures." The conceptual framework in which dai is involved would also seem to include si, which too is commonly translated as 'wait'. As it is used in the expression si ji er dong 'wait for a favorable moment and then act', si might well express a cluster of meanings rather similar to that expressed by dai.

Another example is reminiscent of Salzman's (1986:41) perception that when a Chinese bureaucrat says that she or he will "research a matter," what is really meant is that the matter will be put off until it either resolves itself or somehow just disappears. Given that Salzman's experience is not isolated, it appears more than coincidental that the morpheme ji can mean both 'check, examine, investigate' as in jicha and 'delay, procrastinate' as in jiyan or jicheng. It seems that waiting as a strategy in Chinese culture has been encoded into the Chinese lexicon more than once.

The purposeful, persistent patience of the Chinese has impressed many Westerners. Bauer (1986:102), for example, described his work experience in China as being "immersed in a people who were able to fix their vision on a far horizon and consider decades or even centuries of pits and chasms as an acceptable road to follow in reaching it. . . . I was observing the Chinese system in action as it took each task in turn . . . with no stigma attached to postponement." Being able to take such a long view seems to require a somewhat different concept of time compared to what most Westerners are accustomed to. Maintaining such

infinite patience seems difficult if one is operating on a time-is-money metaphor, for example. Lakoff (1987:209) points out that the cognitive model in which time is thought of as something which can be budgeted, spent, saved, used profitably, or wasted is so widespread in America that many people forget that such a conception of time is not universal, that it is only metaphorical and not objective.

The Western view of time has been characterized as linear; that is, time is seen to have a clear beginning and definite ending. It is measured and finite. In contrast, the Chinese view of time has been described as cyclic. According to that view, time is recurring, periodic, and eternal. Because the cycles of time always come around again, there is always more time. Time cannot be lost or wasted because there is no end to time (Murphy 1981:80-1,85; Balslev 1986:104-5,109-11; Fraser 1986:11). It makes sense that one would feel less constrained about waiting if there is always more time. As Schipper and Wang (1986:185) explain, "In Chinese thought, the universe is apprehended as an infinity of nesting time cycles that, because of their formal correspondences, may be

manipulated as though they were interchangeable."[7]

It is definitely not being claimed here that no cycles exist in the West, that linear time is completely unheard of in China, that delays do not occur in the West, that Chinese negotiating styles are unique, that all Westerners are impatient, or that no Chinese ever values speed. Nevertheless, scholars and business people do generally agree that overall differences in views and uses of time do exist and have been problematic. The main point here is that if Westerners better understand key Chinese categories such as dai, they perhaps will be better prepared to deal effectively with those differences and achieve results that will be beneficial to all concerned.

Americans in particular have been criticized for "a corporate reluctance to understand or appreciate fully the nuances of doing business in Pacific Basin countries" and "an apparent corporate aversion to making an attempt to bridge the cultural and language barriers" (Engholm 1989:351-2). Apparently unable to comprehend or appreciate Chinese views of time, one American official at Beijing Jeep, for example, complained that "Time just ain't important to them . .

. It wears you down . . . I'm a tough son of a bitch, but it wears you down" (Mann 1989:199,202). Such frustration is unnecessary. Chinese commercial culture is not unknowable. Those who have studied the subject have recommended resisting the desire to hurry negotiations along (Pye 1982:12), stationing more business people in China for longer periods of time (Engholm 1989:364), and in general taking the long view (Mann 1989:21,32-3,296; Frankel 1989:43).

Significant rewards are available for those who make the effort. Taiwan's $328 billion program of public spending to develop its infrastructure presents many business opportunities for foreigners (Baum 1992b:60). As for mainland China, consultants Stephen Shaw and Jonathan Woetzel explain that "serious--and sustained--economic reform is producing a consumer market that finally warrants top-level attention--and action--from multinational companies" (Clifford 1993:44).

Methodology of prototype semantics has been used to study key Chinese categories with the purpose of facilitating increased understanding of Chinese commercial culture (Myers 1991). Studying distinctive

lexical items seems to be a useful way to illuminate the culture in which they are used. Certainly, however, there is more work to be done. Other key categories and other areas of Chinese culture remain to be explored. Perhaps this methodology could be used in the study of other cultures as well.

Appendix A

請在最好的答案上畫一個圈。

	是			說不上來	不是		
	1 一定的	2 相當肯定	3 不太肯定	4	5 不太肯定	6 相當肯定	7 一定的
一、	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
二、	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
三、	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
四、	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
五、	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
六、	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
七、	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
八、	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

請問：中文是不是你的母語？

□是　　□不是

Appendix B

Please circle the best answer.

	Yes			Can't Say		No	
	Sure	Fairly Sure	Not too Sure		Not too Sure	Fairly Sure	Sure
I.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
II.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
III.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
IV.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
V.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
VI.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
VII.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
VIII.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Is Chinese your mother tongue?

___Yes ___No

Appendix C

一、張三耐心地工作因爲他希望來日被拔升到負責的地位，但是他一向不介入公司的人事權力關係。幾年之後他已經具有經理的資格，就被任命爲經理。

請問：這個行爲是不是一種“待”？

二、河水連續上漲好幾天了，張三雖然非常注意，可是他還是留在家裏。等到洪水淹入他家的時候，他却六神無主，不知如何是好。

請問：這個行爲是不是一種“待”？

三、那兩位業餘的攝影者在海灘站了三小時，可是當黎明最美麗的曙光出現的時刻，他們不但正忙著聊天，而且照相機的光圈也調錯了，結果是坐失良機。

請問：這個行爲是不是一種“待”？

四、漁民們發現了海上的油污逼近漁場，雖然他們沒有除油污的裝備，可是很希望能儘快清除這些油污，所以都很快地出去察看污染的情況以便決定應該怎樣做。

請問：這個行爲是不是一種“待”？

五、那支攻擊的軍隊居高臨下，而根據偵察回來的報告，部隊可以不必採取任何軍事行動因爲一旦敵人彈盡糧絕，就很容易取勝。

請問：這個行爲是不是一種“待”？

六、那位醫生在回家的途中看到一起車禍，馬上跑到傷者旁邊檢查他受傷的情況。醫生發現傷者已停止了呼吸，馬上給他施行人工呼吸。

請問：這個行爲是不是一種“待”？

七、張三不想跟對方閒談，也不管對方是否是個奸滑的商人，只要趕快做成生意就好了。

請問：這個行爲是不是一種“待”？

八、因爲那位沒駕照的青年正回想著剛才和女友間的爭吵，所以沒注意到紅燈已經亮了，孩子們開始過馬路了，他終於來不及煞車了。

請問：這個行爲是不是一種“待”？

Appendix D

I. John worked patiently because he wanted someday to be promoted to a responsible position, but he never paid attention to office politics. After a few years, he had the qualifications to be manager and was appointed to that position.

Is that behavior a kind of dai?

II. The level of the river continued to rise for several days, but, although John paid close attention to the situation, he still remained at home. Even when the flood waters entered his home, he still did not know what was best for him to do.

Is that behavior a kind of dai?

III. Two amateur photographers stood on the beach for three hours, but when the perfect moment came for taking a picture of the sunrise, they not only were busy chatting but also had the aperture on their camera set incorrectly and as a result missed their chance.

Is that behavior a kind of dai?

IV. The fishermen discovered an oil slick approaching their fishing grounds, and, although they had no equipment to remove the pollution, they nevertheless hoped that they could get rid of it as soon as possible and quickly went out to have a look so that they could then figure out what to do.

Is that behavior a kind of dai?

V. The attacking army held the high ground, but according to scouting reports, it was unnecessary to take any action because, as soon as the enemy ran out of food and ammunition, victory could easily be obtained.

Is that behavior a kind of dai?

VI. The doctor saw an accident on his way home and immediately ran over to examine the injured person. When he discovered that the victim had stopped

breathing, he at once administered CPR.

Is that behavior a kind of dai?

VII. John did not want to chat with his counterpart and did not care how crafty a business person he might be but just wanted to conclude the deal quickly.

Is that behavior a kind of dai?

VIII. Because the young driver without a license was preoccupied with the quarrel he had had with his girlfriend, he did not notice the traffic light turning red and children beginning to cross the street. He could not stop in time.

Is that behavior a kind of dai?

NOTES

[1] I want to express my thanks to Huang Shuanfan and Stan Mickel for their advice on my dissertation, from which this paper has developed. Also, I want to thank Atmas Tsai for help with the statistical analysis. For the shortcomings of this paper, I alone am responsible.

[2] Dollar amounts in this paper are given in US dollars.

[3] Savings rates here refer to gross domestic savings as an average annual percentage of GDP from 1981 to 1990.

[4] That the three meanings 'private', 'selfish', and 'illegal' are related can perhaps be seen when one considers the use of si in si xiang shou shou 'privately give and privately accept, make an illicit transfer'. If those three meanings were not related, then si would be a homonym, not a polyseme (see Lakoff 1987:316).

[5] All of the items on the questionnaire were checked with several native speakers to make sure they

expressed the intended meanings accurately and appropriately. None of these checkers participated as subjects in the experiment.

[6] Responses from overseas Chinese were counted if they indicated that Chinese was their mother tongue. As Voegelin and Voegelin (1964:18-19) point out, Han Chinese can be seen as a unified cultural construct and as a unified linguistic construct.

[7] For ways in which the cyclic view of time is reflected in the Chinese lexicon, see Myers (1991:63-65).

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